

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXLVI. VOL. VI.—No. 14.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 9TH, 1845.

[PRICE 4d.]

DISCUSSION ON THE FRENCH LAW ON SLAVERY.

CHAMBER OF PEERS, April 3, 1845.

AFTER the Minister of Marine (Admiral Mackau) had signified the assent of the Government to the recommendation of the Commission that legislative action should be substituted for royal ordinances,

Baron CHARLES DUPIN, President of the Council of Colonial Delegates, opened the discussion by a very long and desultory speech. He began by a disquisition on the average duration of human life, supported by statistical references, not only inconclusive, but evidently fallacious. Then followed a touching picture of the tenderness bestowed on the blacks whom age or sickness incapacitated for labour, and a comparison between the condition of the slaves and that of English artisans, altogether to the advantage, of course, of the former. He went on to infer from the immigration of 40,000 Indians and Chinese into Mauritius, that freedom had, in three or four years, killed one-third of the emancipated population in that island. M. Dupin next availed himself of the admission made by the commission under the Duke de Broglie, that the condition of the slaves was sensibly improved, and that their treatment was rarely cruel. He referred to isolated cases in which liberated slaves had desired to return to slavery. He placed the conduct of the French slaves on occasion of the earthquakes at Fort Royal and Point à Pitre in contrast with that of the freed blacks of Bridgetown, Barbados; the former having preserved the property and lives of their masters, the latter having been guilty of pillage. M. Dupin proceeded to boast of the physical and moral improvements introduced into the colonies within the last fifteen years, at the very time that the colonists had to contend with the beet-root sugar. He complained of secret societies, instigations to revolt, incendiary writings, and appeals to the passions. He declared that the most profound peace reigned in the colonies, and that a noble spirit of devotedness had distinguished the slaves since the British act of emancipation. He also paid some high compliments to the masters. He expressed his preference of the inaction of former governments to the present measure; and he especially objected to conferring on the slaves the right of redemption, because the colonists were in this respect already excessively generous. He concluded by saying that he would maintain the *status quo*.

Count BEUGNOT said, that the preceding speaker had avoided every topic favourable to emancipation. He had saved himself the trouble of noticing them by a single word—"It is too late." However, if slavery was so good, the slave-trade need not have been abolished. M. Dupin had made a seductive picture of the happiness of the slaves: but why, then, had the ordinance on protection (*patronage*) been passed? Was it not on account of the excessive punishments inflicted by the masters? It was now said that these were falsehoods; but they were proved by official documents. And was there not constant impunity? The speaker cited the testimony of the magistrates to the resistance they had experienced in visiting the plantations.

Admiral MACKAU here interrupted M. Beugnot, to say that he had lately received despatches from the Governor of Martinique, conveying the assurance that the masters had submitted to the introduction of the ordinance on protection, which was prudently and satisfactorily administered.

FRIDAY, April 4.

M. BEUGNOT, continuing his speech, quoted a report of M. Chevalier, substitute of the *procureur du roi* at Fort Royal, Martinique, dated February, 1845, which disproved the assertion of M. de Mackau. This magistrate had, on an estate belonging to a member of the colonial council, experienced a degree of resistance which yielded only to force. This report proved also that a slave had, in the dungeon of the estate, been subjected to excessive punishment. There had been no more recent reports. (Neither M. de Mackau nor M. Dupin replied to this.) Resuming his reply to M. Dupin, M. Beugnot demonstrated that there were, in the island of St. Martin, in September, 1844, strong tendencies towards a refusal of work on the part of the slaves; and that it was the same at the same period in Cayenne. The *procureur general* of Guadeloupe had spoken in full council of the infliction of excessive punishments, and of the injustice of the accusations directed against the magistrates; and since these officers had married creoles and become proprietors (contrary to the ordinance), it followed that they would take care what they said in their reports. It had been ascertained that in 1840 there were of escaped slaves from our colonies, in Dominica 800, in St. Lucia 600, and in Antigua 600. Could any thing more effectually refute the assertion of M. Dupin, who alleged that the slaves did not wish for liberty? In the observations of the Council of Martinique on the *projet de loi* presented to the Chamber of Peers, they deplored the complete anarchy which reigned, and

which had favoured the escape of 20,000 labourers. And this was the state of things which M. Dupin wished to maintain! Numerous fires had broken out in Guadeloupe in August, 1844, and the Minister of Marine must have received advices that similar calamities had been renewed. On the 20th of October, 1843, the *juge de paix* of St. Martin had declared that the slaves, at the very sight of the emancipated islands, loudly demanded their liberty. In such a situation was it possible to go back, or to maintain the *status quo*, without danger? He thought not. But it was said that the press was not favourable to the slaves. The colonists knew the reason of that. They had sent to Paris an abundance of doubloons, which circulated in the shape of journals, books, and pamphlets. This perhaps was clever; but they would have done better to pay their debts and improve their cultivation. Was it possible to stop? St. Domingo, notwithstanding her misfortunes, was not pining for the chains she had burst. If colonial slavery were at an end she would return to France. There were also disasters in Cuba. The speaker then referred to the various steps taken in relation to emancipation at preceding periods, and went on to say that he regarded the *projet de loi* as unsatisfactory. What crime had the slave committed that we should impose on him the necessity of purchasing himself? The negro Saturday represented an amount of wages of only 1s. 3d. per week, or less than 3*l.* 10s. a year: how was he to purchase himself with so little, after supplying his daily wants? As to spontaneous emancipation, which M. Dupin had formerly stated at 42,000, and now at 20,000, M. Beugnot on examination had found but 3,826; the remainder were transactions with which the generosity of the planters had little to do. The delegate from Bourbon had stated that the spontaneous liberation of a prædial slave was an act almost without example; and M. de Cussac said everything on this point in one word, "Acts of generosity, none." In conclusion, the speaker said he should vote for the *projet de loi* with regret because he regarded it as unsatisfactory. By further delay the planters would lose indemnity entirely, and France would be deprived of the honour of doing a great and generous action.

Count TASCHER, of a Martinique family, combated the assertion of the preceding speaker that the colonists never spontaneously emancipating their slaves, by referring to the as yet unpublished plan for abolishing slavery in French Guiana by substituting a system of organized labour.

General CUBIÈRES, formerly minister of war, and colleague of M. Thiers in the cabinet of the 1st March, to the surprise of all parties, pronounced against emancipation. He admitted that some illustrious men were abolitionists; but because they were divided as to the mode of proceeding, and because labour had so much diminished, and would soon be annihilated in the English colonies, he would not agitate the question. England promoted emancipation, in order to ruin the colonies of other nations and to benefit India. The law proposed was merely to please England. Emancipation would annihilate the French colonies, and ruin their maritime commerce. He was consequently for delay. He complained of persons being so eager to bring to an end a state of things which had lasted for ages. It had been asserted that the English slaves were more advanced in religion than the French; but he wished that emancipation should be regarded merely as a question of industry. He did not wish to found a new state of society. Indemnity would be of no use; the colonists did not want money, but labour. Human property constituted three-fifths of the value of a plantation, and could not be separated from property in the soil. The general declared his abhorrence of the ideas of liberty held by M. Beugnot. They ought, he said, to share the fate of the children of Saturn, and to be devoured as soon as they were born, lest they should devour their parents. (Laughter.)

The Duke d'HARCOURT regretted that MM. Dupin and Cubières should have applied their talents to the support of slavery. He looked at the subject from so different a point of view that it was difficult for them to understand one another. They saw in it nothing but a question of finance, of more or less labour. Of justice, humanity, liberty, or the rights of man, he did not recollect that they had once made mention. Was this becoming a country like ours? Homage was, indeed, nominally paid to the imprescriptible rights of man; but care was taken to avoid the consequences. Slavery was infamous, said the reporter; but take care how you touch it, for it is profitable. The negroes are well treated. It is quite a pity that it does not exist among ourselves. We had heard much of ameliorations; but what relation had these to freedom? They all originated in the interest of the proprietors; not men only, animals, all things, partook of them. They were part of a general progress of improvement. "Men farm better, use their horses better, feed their pigs better. Is this all our philanthropy?" But why be in a hurry? The planters are compassionate; leave them to themselves. They are as eager to give the slaves their liberty as you are; but it cannot be done yet.



You must prepare them, or you will do more harm than good. He had no confidence in this generosity, which was contrary to the nature of things. They were rare cases in which morality and virtue could stand against private interest. Enfranchisements had been spoken of; but they knew what these were. The planters enfranchised the sick, the aged, the infirm, their own children, whom shame prevented them from keeping in slavery, and sometimes the dying. As to morals, if anything could effectually obstruct their advancement, it was slavery. The one was incompatible with the other. And religion inculcated such lessons that the masters used every means to evade it. It was the same with marriage. Marriage produced legitimate children, whom the state reckoned up and protected; but it was better to have a breed for whom nobody cared, which might work on the plantation and be reckoned with the stock. Let them be judged according to their works. Here there was a strong public opinion against them, and they contented themselves with panegyricizing slavery. In the United States, where they had the upper hand, they murdered any one who allowed himself to plead for emancipation. The evil tree of slavery could not produce better fruit. Reference had been made to England. It had been said that England looked at nothing but her own interest, and wanted only the destruction of foreign colonies. "I am not," said the noble Duke, "an Anglomaniac. I admit that there is a real, perhaps a necessary antagonism between the two countries; but I wish it consisted in excelling rather than in hating one another. The world is large enough for many great and prosperous nations. But England is covetous, and we are her dupes! The expenditure of twenty millions sterling is a singular evidence of covetousness. I do not know whether *we* are going to be quite as covetous as this. (Laughter.) I believe rather that, if the question of indemnity could be separated from that of slavery, the latter would be soon settled. But has England spent twenty millions to ruin our colonies, or her own? This may be hard to determine. It is the favourite theme of our opponents that the colonies of England have been in great distress ever since emancipation. So through covetousness England has spent twenty millions to ruin her own colonies! But there is something behind this—she has the monopoly of India. The conquest and tenure of India by England I admit to be extraordinary; but, in a financial respect, India supplies nothing to England. People go to India to make fortunes, but the East India Company pays nothing into the English treasury. It is even possible that this vast Colossus, which has renewed the conquests of Alexander, may finish its course by bankruptcy. Yet for this we are told England has spent twenty millions, and ruined her magnificent colonies in the West Indies! The true interest of England in relation to our colonies is that they should remain as they are; since, on the slightest collision, they would be in insurrection tomorrow. The truth is that we hate England, and cannot bear to imitate her. But this feeling ought not to go so far as to make us deny what is true, and resist measures at once honourable in themselves and worthy of France, simply because our neighbours have set us the example." (Hear, hear.)

The Prince of Moskwa, son of Marshal Ney, replied to the Duke d'Harcourt in a very long speech, which occupied the remainder of this sitting, and a great part of that of the ensuing day. He vehemently protested against being regarded as an advocate of slavery; but he contended strongly for the maintenance of it, on the ground of hatred towards *perfidious Albion*. He was followed by M. PERRIER, and by the Marquis d'AUDIFFRET, who advocated the *status quo*.

MONDAY, April 7.

Count MONTALEMBERT said, his prevailing feeling was surprise. He was astonished that in the year 1845 they should be in a French Chamber discussing how and when French slavery should cease. The principle indeed was admitted; but the very first step towards it, small and unsatisfactory as it was in his judgment, was violently opposed. Posterity would hardly know how to believe this. He wished to avoid declamation and to speak impartially. His family had held property in St. Domingo, and he himself had possessions in the British West Indies; so that he had experienced the two great colonial changes, the revolt in St. Domingo, and English emancipation. It was therefore a conviction tempered by sorrowful experience which had led him to rank himself among the advocates of emancipation. He wished well to the colonies, and would make all possible improvements in their condition; but it was necessary to disclose to them the nature of their position, and their duty both towards the mother country and towards humanity. The colonists had imagined that the question of emancipation had been postponed, in some sort lost. They must be undeceived. It must be shown to them that the question was only between an immediate and a gradual emancipation. He regretted that the Government had not taken a more decisive step; that they had not adopted the plan of the majority of the Colonial Commission. He, however, accepted the present law as a means of introducing the blacks to those two fundamental elements of society, families and property. He would take up the subject of emancipation in only two points of view, the example given by England, and the interests of their own colonies. In English emancipation he found an imperative inducement to French emancipation; and he declared without hesitation that it had nobly succeeded. Not, indeed, in an economical view, but in a moral view. The bad economical results had been produced by four causes. First, the obstinate resistance of the colonists to the measures of transition proposed by the English Government. Secondly, the non-employment of the indemnity on colonial objects.

Thirdly, the want of a system of organised labour. Fourthly, competition with East India sugar. All these sources of mischief could be avoided by them, provided the colonists would have good sense enough to act with the Government. The blacks, however, had not given up working; they had applied themselves to a variety of labours for their own advantage. The exports from England to the West Indies had not diminished. The amount was the same in 1831 and in 1842. The colonies then are not ruined. The colonists have passed through a painful transition; but they have still possession of the soil, and around them is created a new society with all its wants and resources. But, while admitting this financial injury, reduced to its proper limits, it must be maintained that in a social and moral view emancipation had been signally successful. 800,000 persons had passed from slavery to liberty without any disorder, with less disturbance than had been exhibited by any political revolution in Europe. Notwithstanding the natural inactivity of the negroes, they had voluntarily given to labour three quarters of the time forced from them in slavery. There had been less crime among them than in the mother country. Three moral and social results of the highest importance had thus been obtained. First, the possibility of immediate emancipation without disorder had been ascertained. Secondly, the emancipated negroes, far from relapsing into barbarism, had shown themselves eager after the rights and pleasures of civilization. Thirdly, this race, which it had been said could be governed only by the whip, had proved themselves docile and readily obedient to proper authorities. These results had been confirmed by the solemn testimony of Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel, whose language the Prince of Moskwa ought not to have forgotten. The Whig party in England united in the same testimony. It ought to be recollected, however, how these results had been obtained. "It must be confessed," said the Count, "and it ought to be loudly proclaimed, they sprang from the all-powerful and beneficent influence of the Protestant missionaries. It was this which rendered the enfranchised negro so docile, and (allow me the expression) so fit for society. The power of the planters had antecedently been threatened by the Protestant missionaries, and when it fell, that of the missionaries supplied its place with great advantage in all respects. It was these missionaries, who have been the objects of so much persecution and so many denunciations, who had preserved so long the lives, the properties, and the safety of the planters. In the great insurrection of 1830, which immediately preceded and urged on emancipation, the Protestant missionaries did all they could to maintain the peace and to calm the free population; and Mr. Hill, who was at the head of the special magistracy in Jamaica, declared that the colony owed more to their influence than to force of arms. Subsequently to emancipation also, they prevented the violation of the laws, and maintained that wonderful order and tranquillity which have constantly prevailed in the English colonies since emancipation. I am perfectly impartial, gentlemen, on this point. You know that these missionaries are of all sorts, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, &c., and my faith obliges me to regard them as heretics, as strangers to, or rebels against, the truth which I profess; but it does not make me blind to the immense service which they rendered to humanity and to freedom. I feel pleasure, on the contrary, in declaring that the labours of the English missionaries in the West Indies constitute one of the noblest spectacles ever exhibited to mankind. The influence of these missionaries has been spoken of as a reproach to them. Gentlemen, what was the origin and the nature of that influence? They reigned over the negroes, it is said. I admit it readily: but by what better title is it possible to reign over men? Why, they found these poor blacks, men and women, naked, and taught them to clothe themselves; they found them in brute-like concubinage and united them in marriage; they found them in ignorance and introduced them to knowledge; they found them in barbarous superstitions, and threw on them the light of the gospel; in a word, they found them in slavery, and conducted them to freedom. And after this they are reproached with the influence which they exercised? It is the most legitimate and felicitous influence which can possibly be exercised by man over man. Yes! I do not hesitate to affirm it, the word of the missionary substituted for the whip of the slave-driver in the government of the black race, is the most delightful spectacle, the most blessed revolution, which the nineteenth century has yet presented to the world." (Hear, hear.) His admiration of this spectacle was connected with a feeling of pain when he recollected that it had been effected under a flag not French, and by a clergy not Catholic. All their opponents had insisted on the necessity of diffusing the influence of religion previously to emancipation, and had made an argument of it against them who wished for some greater promptitude. He had tried to find out what was doing in this respect; and his conviction was, that in their colonies religious and moral instruction was a mere fiction. There was in them an evident and mortifying inferiority to the English colonies. The fault might be attributed to three classes—to the clergy in the first instance, to the government in the second, and to the colonists in the last. The clergy in the colonies were lukewarm. The Government were ready with money; but they should establish the authority of the clergy on its regular basis, the episcopate. The speaker then cited several testimonies from official persons in the French colonies, affirming a prevailing antipathy to religious instruction on the part of the colonists. He would not have it thought that he held the blacks themselves blameless. He was not philanthropist enough to think that either their colour or their misfortunes invested them with all the virtues. But he maintained that their vices could be corrected only in a state of freedom. Offer them religious instruction in slavery, and they would only regard it

as more work. Offer it to them in freedom, and they would show themselves not only capable but greedy of it. It was the same with marriage. Their reluctance to it had been quoted as immoral; but it existed only in slavery, when they had no liberty of choice, and when their wives would be exposed to the passions of their masters. Had he then not a right to say that the colonists did not sincerely try to facilitate emancipation? The adversaries of emancipation held two sorts of language, the one for the use of their eloquent defenders in the mother country, and the other for the use of the planters and colonial councils. These latter knew how to change their attitude. They began by acknowledging neither the right nor the fact of the abolition of slavery, which they called a providential and permanent instrument of civilization. Afterwards, when they saw that emancipation was seriously intended, they changed their tone, and said, "We are quite willing, but you propose objectionable methods!" They had begun by opposing the census; then the law of forced expropriation; then the law of protection. In May, 1843, a *procureur du roi* arriving at an estate on a tour of instruction, the master had the audacity to exclaim, "Fifty lashes to the first black who answers the questions put to him!" If this was done when the magistrate was present, what would be done when he was absent?

The Prince of Moskwa.—We rely in this respect on the declaration of the Government.

COUNT MONTALEMBERT.—"The Minister of Marine has said that the ordinance on protection had at length been accepted and executed. I believe it. Why, who could suppose an unlimited continuance of such things in a French colony? I draw an argument from this, however, against the position of our opponents. If the colonial proprietors have ended, after a violent opposition, by accepting the ordinance, I conclude they will accept the arrangements concerning property and the right of redemption which their partisans so vehemently resist." In this great cause there were two unquestionable principles. First, the necessity of not proclaiming liberty without preparation. In this all were agreed. But there was another principle in which they and their opponents were not agreed—it was the urgency of immediate preparation. This was the difference between the numerous abolitionists who had recently made their appearance, and the pure abolitionists. He vindicated for themselves the exclusive use of this epithet, in order to distinguish themselves from the new category of cautious abolitionists, such as the Prince of Moskwa and General Cubières. They wished for immediate measures, while the others wished for nothing of the sort. (Laughter.) They found in every proposition extreme danger, insurmountable difficulty. Their entire wisdom consisted in waiting. Now the Duke of Broglie had well said, "To wait is wise, if you are in a condition to wait; but to wait for the sake of waiting, to wait through carelessness or irresolution, through not having sense enough to decide, or courage enough to act, is the worst of all courses, and the most certain of all dangers." (Hear.) He would go further than the noble duke, and endeavour to define this most certain of all dangers. It was this:—"If you act, you keep possession of the land; if you do not act, others will act in your stead. In the former case you obtain emancipation gradually, and with indemnity; in the latter, you will still have emancipation, but neither gradually nor with indemnity. The English colonies did precisely what you are doing. In 1823, and at other periods, the Government invited their co-operation; but the colonists would not hearken. What followed? In 1830 and 1831 a dreadful insurrection; in 1833, emancipation, with apprenticeship; in 1837 or 1838, the abolition of the apprenticeship itself, complete emancipation, and, as you say, the ruin of the colonies. But your position is worse than theirs; for they had not to contend with the two great dangers which threaten you—the neighbourhood of freedom, and the danger of war. But suppose these dangers to be chimerical, what then? You say that the English colonies are ruined. In what state then are your own? I say they are ruined too; only by slavery instead of by freedom. This ruin is proclaimed by yourselves. And to what do you attribute it? To the agitation of the emancipation question. I believe you are right. But I ask what remedies can be applied to this? There are but two. Either to grant emancipation, or to banish the idea of emancipation from the world. I defy you to find a middle course. Either give us freedom, or convert us, like the Americans, to slavery. Ah! if you can cause it to be declared by France that slavery is a natural and divine right; if you can obtain the prohibition, as in the United States, of the right of petition and discussion on slavery; if you can enter the path which has led certain states in America to prohibit, under pain of death, the teaching of a slave to read,—then you may reckon on the prosperity of the colonies with the maintenance of slavery. But if you dare not go so far—if you cannot, (and I congratulate you that you cannot,) you can never regain your past prosperity while slavery shall exist among you." (Hear, hear.) If the colonists had brought forward any plan of emancipation he should think them entitled to more consideration; but this was not the case. M. Tascher had referred to an experiment proposed by a delegate of Cayenne; but he had not been sanctioned by his own colonial council. At all events, the plan, which referred only to the least important of their colonies, had not been approved by any other of them. Generally speaking they resisted all change. This, in his opinion, was the way to lose all that was left to them. In his judgment, emancipation was the key to their future prosperity. The moment they should come to the mother country with two

extended hands, offering in the one emancipation, and showing with the other that the interests of our navigation and our industry required to be indemnified for emancipation, he was persuaded that the necessary sacrifices would be made. He would say a word in conclusion on an argument borrowed from the national honour. It had been said that the measure should be rejected, because it was part of a system of concession to England. He thought they might argue in a contrary direction. If any one supposed (which he did not) that England wished to humble or to menace France, he affirmed that she could do nothing better than maintain the actual condition of their colonies. How could the security of France be more seriously threatened than by the craters of disorder in her colonies? The national honour seemed to him more deeply implicated in the question of emancipation than in any other question of the time. Emancipation was a great thing, and nations were great only because they did great things. The deepest humiliation of France would consist in her not daring, or not being able to undertake it. "Ah! gentlemen, I entreat you do not make our poor blacks pay the price of our political degradation; do not let us avenge the real or supposed wrongs of England, by lingering behind her in the path of humanity, civilization, and religion!" (Hear, hear.) He would vote for the *projet de loi*.

COUNT TASCHER stated that the plan for abolishing slavery in Cayenne had been brought forward by the delegate for that colony and two members of the colonial council, and that it had the support of the principal inhabitants.

COUNT DE SAINT PRIEST replied to M. de Montalembert, and was for maintaining the *status quo*.

M. HIPPOLYTE PASSY followed him, and entered into a general discussion of the subject. In concluding he said, that the objections to the *projet de loi* rested on two allegations:—the first, that the colonies were in so prosperous a condition that they should not be touched; the second, that the proprietors were doing so much good that they should be left to themselves. He examined and refuted both these allegations.

On the 9th of April M. MERILHOU, the reporter of the commission, closed the general discussion, and the chamber proceeded to the consideration of the several clauses. We have already given an account of the principal amendments which were introduced.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The annual papers relating to the slave trade having been laid before Parliament at a much earlier period than usual, we are enabled to give our readers a condensed view of the extent of the nefarious traffic during the years 1843-4.

From the extracts we shall make from the reports of the Slave Trade Commissioners, addressed to Lord Aberdeen, it will appear that the slave trade has rather increased than decreased during the time specified.

SIERRA LEONE.

"The total number of vessels adjudicated during the year has been thirteen, twelve of which proved cases of condemnation, and one was restored. Eight hundred and eight slaves were emancipated during the year, of whom eight hundred and five were registered here. The total number of vessels adjudicated by the Mixed Commissions since their establishment in this Colony in 1819 up to the present date is four hundred and seventy-one. Of this number twenty-four were cases of restoration to the claimants. During the same period there have been emancipated by these Courts sixty-one thousand and eighty-five slaves, of whom only fifty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-one have been registered here. Of the thirteen vessels which were adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Courts during this year, only two had slaves on board, namely, *Furia* and *Temerario*. The first shipped her human cargo at Lagos, and the latter at Cape Lopez. When detained both were found to be Brazilian vessels. Nearly the whole of the thirteen slave-trading vessels, which sailed from different ports in Brazil to mere nominal ports in other places, found their way to this coast. Eleven were regular Brazilian vessels; one was Spanish, but captured under Brazilian colours; the other one was Portuguese. All were to have returned with their cargoes of slaves to Brazil. The eleven Brazilian vessels engaged in the slave traffic were all, except two, cases of equipment. The Spanish and Portuguese vessels were also cases of equipment.

"It is scarcely possible to name the exact ports of the coast to which these thirteen vessels were really destined, and we can only assign a probable locality to them from the places in which they detained by her Majesty's cruisers. Adopting this as our best guide, it appears that of the eleven Brazilian vessels, six were destined to the slave ports within five degrees north of the Equator, four of them to the African coast within eight degrees south, and one to Quillemane on the east coast of Africa. The Spanish vessel was detained sailing, under the Brazilian flag, off Cabinda; and the Portuguese prize was seized in latitude 6° 35' South, and longitude 10° 10' West. There are at present four cases before the Courts, two of which had slaves on board.

"From the foregoing statement, your Lordship will perceive that, unhappily for the cause of humanity, the slave trade has greatly increased during the year 1843, and when we consider that many Portuguese vessels, of whose numbers we have no account, must have been sent for adjudication to the new Mixed Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope, the increase will be greater.

"During the year just closed the slave trade in this neighbourhood has been most successfully and extensively carried on. At the Gallinas the slave-trading establishments have been all restored, and are in active

operation. The notorious Pedro Blanco has lately returned from the Havana in an American vessel called the *Elsinore* to the Gallinas, with a full cargo of slave-trading merchandize, particularly *slave equipment* articles. We beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention to the manner in which the slave-trading vessels are supplied with coppers, shackles, bolts, handcuffs, chains, &c., nearly the whole of which are brought to the coast in perfect safety, *on freight*, under the American flag; other merchandizes for carrying on that inhuman traffic are also supplied by both American and British vessels. The resident slave dealers purchase their required trade goods from the British and Americans, for which they pay bills on London, or in specie. This at once accounts for the absence of cargoes in all the captured slavers during the past year."

"During the year just ended we have heard of numerous cargoes of slaves having been shipped at Bissao, Rio Pongas, and Gallinas; and within the last six weeks the brig *Volador* actually embarked 600 slaves at Sherbro, nearly adjoining this colony. The *Volador* has been chased six times by her Majesty's brig *Ferret*, off the Gallinas, from which place her cargo of slaves were marched overland to Sherbro, and there embarked. The brig *Clio*, condemned in the British and Brazilian Court in March last, was bought at auction here by Mr. Pillegrin, a foreigner, and cleared out for Cape de Verdes and Cadiz, but proceeded no farther than the former place, where she was permitted to fit out for a slave-voyage, and she then returned to the Rio Pongas about two months ago, embarked 490 slaves, and got safe off with them. Last week we learned that a large brig, armed with six guns, succeeded in getting away with 1,000 slaves on board, from the neighbourhood of Whydah."

The number of slavers adjudicated during the nine months ending September, 1844, was nineteen, having on board at the time of capture, 1,574 slaves. Of these, ten were Brazilian, one Portuguese, and eight Spanish. 152 slaves died between capture and adjudication, and 15 between adjudication and registration. The Gallinas appears to be the favourite resort of the slavers, from the organized arrangements which have been made there, and the facility with which the human cargoes can be shipped. From the reports we learn that the notorious Don Pedro Blanco is returned to the Gallinas. He took thither in the American brig *Elsinore*, a full cargo of goods. Among the vessels captured was the *San Pedro*, alias *Marinero*. Of this vessel we have the following particulars given.

"The *San Pedro*, equipped and manned for the illicit traffic, cleared out from Trinidad de Cuba, on the 20th of May last, ostensibly for Buenos Ayres, and commanded by Justo Musaurieta, her true destination, however, being Ajudah, and her real master, José Egusquiza, an individual who has previously been before this Court, in the case of the *Galana Josepha*, condemned in 1836, and it is believed, also, in the case of the *Formidable*, captured by her Majesty's brigantine *Buzzard*, after a desperate resistance, and also condemned here in 1835. On the present occasion, the name of Egusquiza was entered in the muster roll merely as that of a passenger, together with those of fifteen others, forming, however, the supplementary crew of the brigantine, and making a complement of no less than thirty-two persons. A quantity of specie was embarked in this vessel, consigned to the notorious slave-dealers Jose de Taparica and Isidoro Feliz de Souza, the shipper being nominally Pedro Forcade, but, there can be little doubt, in reality the house of Fernandez Zulueta and Co., whose printed bills of lading were employed, and who were probably intimately concerned in the adventure. This consignment, consisting of 1,830 dollars in gold, and an addressed packet, was delivered, according to the evidence, to De Souza, at Popoe, whence the vessel proceeded to the river Congo, and was cruising in its neighbourhood when captured."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STOKE NEWINGTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.—This Association intends sending a *Box of Useful and Fancy Articles* to the *Annuit Bazaar*, to be held at Boston, United States, in the 12th month, (December next,) in aid of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Contributions will be thankfully received from any of our friends interested in and desirous of assisting the great cause of Abolition in America, by Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London, and by J. Jefferson, and S. A. Alexander, Stoke Newington; Mary Foster, and S. A. Alexander, Secretaries. N.B.—Articles should be sent by the end of the 10th month (October.)

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 9, 1845.

WE have received the following letter, and readily give it publicity. We have no doubt it will engage the attention of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Havana, to whom we must refer the question which it raises. The passage of their Report referred to, may be found in the *Slave-trade Papers* for the present Session, Class A., page 126.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Drapers' Hall, 5th July, 1845.

Sir,—On the part of Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, jun., we have to desire that you will immediately give the most public and unqualified contradiction to a passage quoted in italics in your last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, from a letter said to be addressed by the Slave Trade Commissioners at the Havana to the Earl of Aberdeen, alluding to "four successful voyages in the course of twelve months," in prosecution of the slave-trade, by a vessel called the *Palmyra Segunda*, you thus quote the Report in question:—

"The principal person engaged in the vessel, Don Julian Zulueta, is brother of the person recently tried in London for being concerned in the slave-trade."

This statement is wholly false. Don Julian Zulueta is not a brother of Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, nor in any way related to him, nor had Mr. Pedro de Zulueta, at the time of the trial to which the Commissioners allude, even heard of his existence.

We are, Sir, your most obedient Servants,

LAWFORDS.

THE correspondence between the Spanish and British Governments respecting the admission of the sugar of Cuba and Porto Rico has been laid before Parliament; and we shall not dissemble our gratification at the result, that the claim put forward by the Spanish Government is not admitted by the British. The note of the Duke of Sotomayor, which is ably drawn up, rests the case on the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by subsequent treaties. To this the Earl of Aberdeen, in his not less able and very elaborate answer, replies, that the terms of the treaty do not warrant the claim. "The obligation which is imposed," his Lordship says, "is to treat as the subjects of the most favoured nation the subjects of Spain; but there is no obligation to treat the produce of Spain as Great Britain is used to treat the produce of the most favoured nation:" a distinction, it appears, fully borne out by the phraseology invariably employed in treaties intended to confer the advantage in question. We think this answer just and conclusive. Lord Aberdeen, however, does not rely wholly upon it, but adopts also another line of argument, the development of which occupies by far the larger portion of his note. A treaty, it appears, was signed in 1670 between the two crowns, entirely shutting up the West Indian possessions of each from the subjects of the other, excepting as the respective sovereigns should thereafter allow; and the stipulations of this treaty have been in force concurrently with the others. Hence, consequently, if the claim put forward by the Spanish Government had been valid with respect to the other parts of the British empire, it would not be so with respect to the British possessions in the West Indies. Accordingly the American territories of either crown have been opened to the trading activity of the subjects of the other, not by treaty or by reciprocal action of any kind, but by a royal decree of the King of Spain, dated in 1820, and by an order in Council of the King of England, dated in 1828. We do not, we confess, see a flaw in either of the lines of argument which Lord Aberdeen has pursued, although we prefer the former as of a wider and more general bearing. We renew the expression of our gratification at the issue of the correspondence.

As to the effect which the exclusion of sugar from Cuba from the British market, is likely to have on the cultivation of that island, and through that medium on the slave-trade, an interesting and instructive passage occurs in the slave-trade papers which have recently been laid before Parliament. In a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, dated Havana, Jan. 1, 1844, the British Commissioners employ the following language:—

"We feel great satisfaction in expressing our confident belief that, notwithstanding the disposition to promote it, the trade is in reality in the most depressed condition. Of the two last cargoes one has been sold, as we stated in a former despatch, at little more than 200 dollars per head, which is one-third less than ever before obtained; and for another cargo no advisable offer was made; so that they were to be divided among the shareholders of the adventure. This is to be ascribed partly to the low price of sugar, which, in the opinion of the best judges of the market, has a tendency to further decrease; and partly to a strong declaration of opinion expressed by the holders of property on the danger to be apprehended from the further introduction of negroes from Africa."

"In consequence of the low price of sugar, the planters have, for some time been unable already to meet their engagements, and are therefore unable to make further purchases of labourers. The same cause prevents the further putting down of canes, and the making or extension of estates; it was for these purposes principally that new negroes were required. And thus also the planters are interested in guarding against means being allowed for further production, which would, of course, tend further to lower the price."

After mentioning the presentation of several memorials against the slave-trade to the Governor, the Commissioners go on to say:—

"Another memorial to the Government was presented by the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake Brothers and Co., setting forth, that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, *except by having the English market opened to the produce of this island*, where, if this could be effected, at a rate even of fifty per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present. On the other hand, they stated that if a different policy were not followed, they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated traffic."

We have given in our impression to-day an abstract of the debate in the French Chamber of Peers on the law for the modification of slavery, and we have given it as at great length as our columns will permit, in consequence both of the interest with which it will be regarded in many countries of the world, and of the importance which will attach to it in the history of the abolition question. In expressing our own opinion of it, we readily do justice to its general merit as a debate, and to the numerous passages in it which exhibit both vigour and eloquence; but we cannot withhold the utterance of our deep sorrow and disappointment at the tone adopted in the speeches of the advocates of abolition. The measure brought forward by the Government, even supposing it to be carried into effect, is the merest fragment of a fraction of justice to the slave; yet Count Montalembert and the Duke d'Harcourt gently pronounce the measure unsatisfactory, and then give it their support. Earnestly did we hope that, if the Government of France was not prepared to fulfil their duty by bringing forward a proposition of emancipation, the abolitionists in the Chamber were prepared to fulfil theirs by the statement of sound principles. The opportunity presented for reading a lesson to ministers of state, and for contributing to the guidance of the public mind, was invaluable, and we are unfeignedly sorry it has been lost. We record with regret, that no voice in that splendid assembly proclaimed the duty of immediate emancipation, or urged on the legislature and people of France the fulfilment of this righteous and paramount obligation. So far from this, that even M. de Montalembert laid it down as a principle in which all were agreed, that there should be no emancipation without preparation, and affirmed that the only dispute with the colonists was on the question whether preparation should be immediately begun. This is, in our opinion, to allot to emancipation an indefinite postponement; since we are convinced—and in one part of his speech the noble speaker to whom we have referred acknowledged it—that preparation is impossible while slavery lasts. The act of British emancipation is admitted on all hands to have been, morally and socially, signally successful; and we do not hesitate to say that this was effected without preparation. It seemed, indeed, to be a prevailing feeling in the French Chamber, that the good order of the British colonies in this great change was owing to the influence of antecedent religious instruction, and Count Montalembert was good enough, Catholic as he is, to pronounce a eulogy on the Protestant missionaries, which will be read with pleasure on both sides of the Atlantic; but, while fully sympathising in this eulogy, and fully admitting the inestimable value of the religious instruction which was given, we cannot give our sanction to the representation that this was the cause of that "marvellous tranquillity," as the French orator expresses it, with which the boon of freedom was received. Our reason for this is that religious instruction was effectively applied to so small a portion of the population afterwards emancipated. In many of the islands it may be said to have had no existence; and where it was most vigorous and successful, as in Antigua, it operated on a minority. Of good effect, undoubtedly, as far as it went, it was too partial to explain the phenomenon referred to. If this be at all mysterious, the solution of the mystery must be looked for among the elements of human nature as such, and not among those which may characterize it under any circumstances of special advantage. To our minds, however, the case presents no mystery. It is not in the nature of man that the communication of social benefits should disorganize society. Oppression may create insurrections, but not justice. And we maintain, that the gift of freedom to any number of slaves, in any circumstances, would be always safe—safer a great deal than holding them in bonds. It is for slavery that man needs to be prepared, not for freedom; for this man as man is always ready, and ready in a moment. And this, we must go on to say, is man's right; and no act of legislation towards the slave can be regarded with satisfaction which does not contemplate its immediate and (so far as he is concerned) its unconditional restoration to him. In this respect, also, the French debate disappoints us. We find in it very great care of French commerce, French industry, and colonial interests; but very little concern, in comparison, for justice to the slave.

We have not, of course, failed to observe how large a space England and the English act of emancipation have occupied in this debate; and we must confess, it is to our vast surprise that we find members of so enlightened an assembly as that in which it took place giving grave utterance to so baseless a fiction as that England has voluntarily ruined her own colonies, and wishes to ruin the colonies of other nations, for the advantage of India! This allegation, however, was well and handsomely answered, and we shall say nothing more in its refutation. We must, however, recommend pro-slavery advocates to make a more correct use of such facts as they may be pleased to adduce from the history of English abolition. Two charges were brought in the course of the debate against the emancipated inhabitants of the British West Indies. Baron Charles Dupin stated, that the peasantry at Barbadoes had been guilty of plunder on occasion of the late fire at Bridgetown; an accusation founded, perhaps, on some language employed on one occasion by the Bishop, but altogether refuted by the subsequent examination and declaration of the Governor, Sir Charles Grey. At a later period of the debate, on the discussion of the first clause, Baron Dupin stated, that in Antigua, two years ago, the legislature had been obliged to make an appeal to every proprietor on the island, by declaring that the great majority of the enfranchised, who had been forced to work because they had no land, had found out that it was more convenient and more agreeable not to work at all, but to get what they wanted by other means. What the basis of this may be

we are at a loss to imagine. Proofs, however, are abundant that it has no foundation in truth.

THE debate on Mr. Hutt's motion on the armed intervention of this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, is a new feature in parliamentary proceedings. It is, we believe, the first time that a motion condemnatory of that system has been brought forward in the British legislature, and it indicates to a certain extent a change of opinion. What the views of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are on the subject will appear from the fact that, so long ago as the 21st February last, that body passed the resolutions which follow:—

"That this Committee rejoice in the rapidly spreading conviction, that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable hope of the annihilation of the slave-trade; and that it is felt not only by those who object upon principle to the use of an armed force, but by the public generally, to be impracticable to suppress it by such means.

"That a review of the experience of the last twenty-five years renders it obvious that some deeply afflicting evils have resulted from the application of coercive means for the extinction of the slave-trade; among which may be enumerated a dreadful aggravation of the sufferings and horrors of the middle passage, a fearful increase in the rate of mortality on the number of unhappy victims shipped for the slave-markets, and on the part of Great Britain, a lamentable sacrifice of life and the expenditure of an enormous amount of treasure.

"That this Committee have always been of opinion that the employment of an armed force for the suppression of the nefarious traffic would prove ineffectual, and this opinion having been confirmed by indubitable facts, would respectfully entreat the British legislature to confine its attention in future to the employment of such means as are of a pacific character in the accomplishment of this great object, and to concentrate all its efforts on the universal abolition of slavery as the most effectual mode of extinguishing the nefarious traffic in human beings."

Concurring to a certain extent with Mr. Hutt in his view of the facts, the Committee, it will be perceived, differ with him as to the *animus* and intent of his motion. He made his attack on the system of armed suppression subservient to the advocacy of the colonial immigration system. It is with him merely an indirect mode of approach to that question. On behalf of the West Indians he says, You do no good by attempting to put down the slave-trade; *give us labourers*, and we will do it. We must confess that we have not yet any faith in this language. Every view we take of the extended scheme of immigration which the colonists call for convinces us that it would be the slave-trade under another form; while we are not less fully convinced that every supply of imported labour would speedily elude the grasp of those who are so eager to seize it.

THE few items of interest contained in the West India mail we have extracted elsewhere. The only occurrence we need notice here has taken place in British Guiana, where a strong and general sensation has been excited by the removal of Mr. Furlong from the office of attorney-general, and the appointment of Mr. Arrindell in his place. This measure, which is said to be the issue of intrigues long on foot, must be regarded as decidedly adverse to the welfare of the colony. Mr. Furlong was a man not only of distinguished talents, but of high honour and integrity, warmly devoted to the best interests of the community, and the uniform friend of freedom and advocate of the poor. "As Attorney-General," says the *Congregational Record*, "and as a member of the Court of Policy, that gentleman has earned for himself a high reputation, and was esteemed by his fellow-colonists as the unflinching advocate of right principles,—the stern opponent of every infringement on the rights and liberties of the people. To his honesty, his integrity, his fearless resistance, in the legislative hall, of whatever threatened to invade our civil or religious liberties, he has evidently fallen a victim." Lord Stanley, we should think, must have been imposed upon by artful misrepresentations in order to have been led to so injurious a step.

OUR files of Mauritius papers have come to hand. We see with regret that the royal sanction has been given to the ordinance on vagrancy, on some objectionable clauses of which we lately commented. We find in the *Cernéen* the *projet* of a hawkers' and pedlars' ordinance, proposing to enact that no person shall pursue this calling without a licence, for which he shall pay three pounds sterling, and one pound for every porter, beast, or carriage, he may employ; and this licence is not to be given without a certificate of moral character, signed by the magistrates! A rumour is mentioned in one of the papers, that machines for facilitating the sugar manufacture were about to be introduced by a French and English company, and that, in conjunction with this improvement, Lord Stanley was to be memorialized for permission to work the labourers *by night*. The Protector of Immigrants, Mr. Anderson, is said to have become more indulgent to the planters, and a correspondent of the *Cernéen* intimates that this is as much to his advantage as theirs. The letter of this correspondent, Justus, refers afresh to the shameful proceedings continually taking place in connection with the distribution of the immigrant Coolies. Having spoken of "the gross abuses consequent upon the special privileges of the official interpreters, the bribes administered to them, and the good offices that money can always procure from them," he adds:—

"This very morning an English merchant, competing with a planter for a band of labourers, discovered that the interpreter, who was directed to inform them that his estate was well situated, and abundantly supplied with water, told them exactly the reverse, in consequence of which they one and all engaged with his rival."

The editor of the *Cernten* makes long extracts from a Calcutta paper, in which some East Indian who has visited Mauritius, speaks in flattering terms of the condition of the Coolies. Even from this statement, however, we cull the following admission as to the fearful mortality which attends the voyage to that island.

"I allude to the hardships of the passage out, and although the subject has often been discussed in your paper, it does not appear to me that the whole of the melancholy truth has as yet found its way into it. The number of demises among Indians proceeding to Mauritius is enormous, and will appear incredible if it is borne in mind that none but young and healthy men are supposed to be passed. It is no less than three per cent. on an average passage of forty-five days; that is to say, that if they were to be out at sea during the whole year, twenty-seven out of 100 picked men would find a watery grave, where the European invalid goes in search of health and strength."

We know, from official documents, that the mortality on the plantations is still greater than that on the voyage.

In the House of Lords, on Monday evening, Lord Aberdeen moved the second reading of a bill for restoring to British Courts of Admiralty the judicial power of dealing with slave-trade cases, so far as the Brazilian empire is concerned; a power which had been taken from them during the existence of the Courts of Mixed Commission. This measure arises out of the expiration of the slave-trade treaty between this country and Brazil. We are compelled to defer his lordship's speech till our next.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—TUESDAY, June 24.

SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. HURT.—He was no advocate of the slave-trade, or defender of those who were engaged in it. He considered it an appalling traffic. But the question was, had we taken the proper means to secure the suppression of the slave-trade? (Hear.) Was it right that we should spend so much money in keeping up naval squadrons, and sacrifice the lives of many gallant men annually in that service? By the present system, we were constantly compromising the British crown, by inducing foreign nations to enter into treaties with us, which they continually disregarded; and we were repeatedly brought into collision with rival states. For thirty years they had busied themselves with nothing so much as with the abolition of the slave-trade; and for this object they had expended the public money to almost any amount, they had employed the naval forces to watch almost every sea and shore where a slaver might be seen or expected, they had established commission courts in half of the regions of the tropical globe, and had put into action diplomatic influence and agency such as this country never before concentrated on any other subject. Well, then, with all this, had they abolished the slave-trade? No, they had failed, and with consequences frightful to contemplate. These were not merely his opinions, but also the opinions of those who had been most engaged in directing the operations of our suppressing machinery. They were the opinions of Sir F. Buxton and the Anti-Slavery Society; of the noble lord the member for London, as recorded in a letter published by him in 1839; of the right hon. baronet opposite, as announced in Exeter Hall, in 1840; of Lord Aberdeen, as appeared from the papers laid on the table the other day; and of Mr. Clarkson. In confirmation of this statement, the hon. member referred to statements made by Mr. Clarkson; by Sir F. Buxton, in 1839; by Lord J. Russell, and Sir R. Peel. The hon. member also quoted from despatches addressed by Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Bulwer, our minister at Madrid, and to Mr. Hamilton, our minister at Rio, for the purpose of showing the extent of the slave traffic carried on at the present moment with Brazil and Cuba. He found by reference to official papers that at the commencement of the present century about 100,000 Africans a year were exported from their country for the purpose of being sold into slavery. At that time Great Britain was largely engaged in the traffic, to the extent of upwards of one-half. In 1807 our Slave Trade Abolition Act passed, and there ensued a large diminution in the number of slaves exported. The war which followed was unfavourable to the operations of the foreign slave-trade, and he had reason to believe that in 1814 the slave-trade had not attained its former amount. But what was now the number of those unhappy beings who were dragged from their homes, and sold to everlasting slavery? It might be more—it could not be less than 200,000 annually. With respect to Brazil and Cuba, it appeared that there were 140,000 slaves landed in the course of a year, exclusive of those that might be surreptitiously imported. To this number must be added thirty per cent., or about 40,000 more to allow for the loss of life on the passage, so that the whole number exported to Brazil and Cuba could not be less than 180,000. Then there was the importation of slaves into Porto Rico, Buenos Ayres, Texas, and even the United States, the amount of which was as yet unknown. He knew that it was doubted whether the United States imported slaves from Africa. That might be treated as a matter of doubt when the sugar duties were under discussion, but, knowing the high price given for slaves in some of the United States, and knowing that American citizens were largely engaged in the slave-trade for other markets, it would be inconsistent with all human experience to suppose that slaves were not surreptitiously introduced into America. He therefore thought it fair to conclude that the number of Africans now annually exported for the purposes of slavery must be upwards of 200,000, or double the amount exported at the commencement of the present century. It might be said that he was only arguing with respect to 1838, and that the slave-trade might have diminished since. It was true that since that time there had been some treaties, which it might have been hoped would have been effectual; there had been the right of search and the treaty with Portugal of 1842. But what said the commissioner at Sierra Leone? He stated that the slave-trade had gradually increased during 1843; and Mr. Hesketh, our consul at Rio, spoke of the clandestine importation of slaves being carried on as before. The large proportion of blacks among the population of Cuba was looked upon by the whites

with feelings of great alarm; it might be asked, then, why they did not exhibit a desire to put the slave-trade down? The inconsistency was no matter of astonishment; the very means we had taken to suppress it had enlisted in defence of it the prejudices and passions of the people. It had been remarked by the right hon. and learned member for Edinburgh, (Mr. Macaulay,) that no nation liked to be told by another, "We are more virtuous than you; we must be your monitors in morality;" yet this was the language this country constantly held towards other nations. The means this country had taken to put down the slave-trade had only given it greater stability. Though they had some account of the number of Africans carried off and sold, they had none of the multitude massacred in the course of this operation, (hear, hear.) They had no account of those who died in the barracoons on the coast waiting for exportation; none of the number who perished on board the slave-ships even during a favourable passage, and when a storm met the vessel at sea; they had no account of those heaved overboard alive when a British cruiser was approaching, or of those who perished after the capture, while the vessel was waiting for adjudication before the commissioners. Of all the horrors recorded by history the slave-trade was the most horrible. While the traffic was unprohibited there was little or nothing in it of this. When the slave-owner had a direct interest in the preservation of the article of his trade, he would take more care of it than when he had an interest paramount to that. Formerly the African chiefs brought the slaves down to a convenient part of the coast, where they were waited for by the dealers; they were leisurely embarked, and some care was taken for their physical well-being. Now the first interest of the slave-dealer was his own escape from capture. (Hear, hear.) The consequence was an accumulation of horrors in the treatment of the slaves, the like of which, to use the language of Burke, no ear had heard, no eye had seen, and no tongue could describe. This was the direct result of the system of suppression, and for that system they, the members of the House of Commons, but above all the ministers of the Crown, were responsible. If they could prevent these horrors and would not, they were participators in the crime. He would not enter into the details of the treatment to which the slaves were subjected. He would merely state, that when the chiefs brought down the slaves to the barracoons on the coast, if they waited long, thousands perished for want of food; when the slaver came, those who were rejected as too emaciated, or too ill, were deliberately murdered; the others were put on board the slaver. Many hon. gentlemen might not have had an opportunity of seeing a slave-vessel, but he had examined two. It was scarcely possible to conceive how they were crammed into the narrow space allowed them. From papers laid before the house it appeared that some of these vessels were not more than 22 inches between decks. Let them think of a mass of human beings crammed into this place under a tropical sun, and conveyed across the Atlantic Ocean; of course, they suffered dreadfully, particularly if disease appeared among them. But even with regard to those who did not perish, their bodies were frequently bent into a permanent curve. The statements of Mr. Hill's pamphlet on this subject were fully borne out by the papers laid on the table of that house. Now, was this system to last for ever? They had just entered into a treaty with France which contemplated its continuance for ten years. Were they so insensible to such scenes of massacre and blood? No object could be good which was pursued at the expense of such sacrifices and such human suffering. He had shown that the system they were pursuing had added to the horrors which were many years ago held up to public indignation; they not only existed in the same degree, but they were aggravated by the immediate effects of their system. Nor were the Africans the only parties who suffered; the system had its victims among their own countrymen; annually the homes of their own people were weeded of their best and bravest, in support of the system of suppression; and he trusted those who viewed with such satisfaction the many treaties that had been fruitlessly made, the ships uselessly captured, and the slaves to whom they had given liberty in vain, would think of the homes of their own land which this system had left desolate. In consequence of the non-completion of returns which had been ordered, but which, to all his inquiries, had not been produced, he was unable to state to the house the loss of life to this country which this system produced; for the same reason he could not state its expense; but this Sir F. Buxton calculated at 15,000,000*l.*, from the year 1814 to 1839; 1,300,000*l.* was given as a bribe to Spain and Portugal to put down the trade; and the annual expense might be taken at 500,000*l.*, or rather more. He would say at once, withdraw your cruisers, which had been productive of nothing but mischief; let them promote a much more extensive commercial intercourse with the coast of Africa. He did not mean that they should undertake another Niger expedition; that expedition had always appeared to him a most insane application of a principle sound in itself, and he did not mean to recommend any such course; but he did mean to urge them to promote more extensively the legitimate pursuits of commerce with the people of Africa. They should also throw open as much as possible the ports and harbours of the West Indies to a free importation of tropical labour. Such a course would not awaken the jealousy of foreign powers, and would be productive of the most beneficial effects. It would put down the slave trade, by underselling its product; it would destroy the traffic by rendering it unprofitable. It would give the African what it was impossible he could enjoy in his own country: it would place him in a position to avail himself of the wealth, the peace, and advantages of a civilized community. He might be told, that a withdrawal of their cruisers from the coast of Africa would be followed by an increase of the slave-trade on all parts of it; but he doubted if such would be the case, and at present they only prevented the people of Brazil and Cuba from giving effect to their own laws, by destroying that spirit which was the best support of all laws,—public opinion. If they would only give fair play to his principle, they would find the people of Brazil and Cuba were more anxious to prevent the increase of the slave-trade than themselves. Their own statements proved that the people of these countries had the best grounds for the alarm they always felt. They knew they were standing on the brink of an abyss; the elements of convulsion were around them, waiting but a word. When the hour anticipated by all travellers and observers might descend upon Cuba and Brazil it was not for them to determine, but this was certain—should the hour of insurrection ever arrive, the convulsion would be bloody and tremendous, in the same degree as the crime that led to it had been great in wickedness. Nor would it affect only the people of Cuba and Brazil; Texas and the United

States must see, in the anxieties they expressed, the danger to which they were also exposed; if they did not learn in time what must be the consequences of persevering in a system so atrocious as the slave-trade, the proud republic of America might see its most powerful provinces become states in confederation with the half barbarous people of Cuba. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That the course pursued by Great Britain since 1814 for the suppression of the slave-trade has been attended by large expenditure of the public money and by serious loss of life to the naval forces of the country, and that it has not mitigated the horrors of the middle passage, nor diminished the extent of the traffic in slaves."

Sir G. COCKBURN said, the only difference between him and the hon. gentleman who had just sat down was not as to the necessity of putting down the slave-trade, but as to the mode. He confessed he did not think that the object was to be gained by dismissing all our force, and relying on public opinion alone. He admitted that up to the last year there were great proofs of the failure of the system adopted, but since that period, since the officers of the two nations had been acting together, and the ships had been stationary, instead of sailing about, a blockade of the coast had been established. Now if there was any hope that within a reasonable time the object would be accomplished, it was surely not well to withdraw our force at once, and allow the horrible traffic in slaves to commence again. Accounts had been recently received from the commodore on the coast of Africa, bearing the date of December 31, 1844. He reported,—"The measures taken for the watching of the Gallinas had proved completely successful." And on the 5th of April, 1845, the commodore reported:—"I have the honour to submit to their Lordships' consideration the enclosed list of captures of slave-vessels, amended from the latest returns, from which it appears that the total amount of seizures during the last twelve months has been forty-five, of which one only has been released by the tribunals to which their cases were subjected. I humbly venture to hope that their lordships will be pleased to accept this result as a satisfactory proof of the zeal and diligence of the officers on this station in the execution of their duty. It is very gratifying to me to be assured that the slave-trade has been severely checked, and in some of its principal haunts effectually suppressed; and I entertain a sanguine expectation that the continued vigilance of the squadron will give it still further and more decisive blows, although it may be as yet too much to calculate on its final and total extinction; and yet, even that result is not beyond my hopes, when I see the faithful exertions made by the Portuguese Government in the cause of the slave-trade suppression on the southern part of this station." Of these forty-five vessels, twelve only were taken with slaves on board—the rest were taken in endeavouring to get in. Under these circumstances, and when there was a prospect of being able to put a stop to the system, he could not but repeat his opinion that it would be unwise to stop now. The hon. member had also misstated the loss of life. Three or four per cent. was the whole amount of deaths, from all causes. And with regard to the other observations of the hon. member, he must allow him to add that there was fully as much wretchedness under the old state of things as at present. The hon. member did not seem to remember that the slave-trader had still the same interest in getting his slaves over in a healthy state that he had before. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that the slaves used to be kept too long in the barracoons; but since those barracoons had been attacked and destroyed, very few of the slaves had been brought down in that way. On the whole, he considered that the slave-trade had received a very considerable check from the means that had been adopted to put it down; and he did not think, therefore, it would be wise at once to abandon all their efforts. Those who dealt in slaves were beginning to see that the trade was more expensive than it was, and this also, together with the increased force which the recent treaty with France would bring to bear on the coast of Africa, afforded an additional reason why the present system should be tried one season more. The hon. member seemed also to forget that the adoption of his suggestion would put an end to all our existing treaties with the chiefs on the coast of Africa, by which, in consideration of the presents we made them, they agreed to prevent trading in slaves in the districts over which they had power. If those treaties were put an end to, they would immediately make war on their weaker neighbours, in order to bring as many slaves to the coast as they could.

Lord HOWICK wished he could share in the expectations entertained by the gallant baronet as to the result of our present efforts on the coast of Africa, but he could not help thinking that the better and wiser policy for the attainment of the object in view—the suppression of the slave-trade—would be to withdraw the commission. For thirty years the same expectations had been entertained—but the ingenuity of the slave-trader had kept pace with our efforts. The evidence of our own officers went to prove that the trade was increasing more than ever in Cuba and Brazil. Great alarm was felt by the planters of Cuba at the increase of the blacks. At present the interference of our cruisers had the effect of preventing the local authorities from making efforts to put down the trade, while, on the other hand, it was notorious that the Government officers in Cuba were induced to connive at the violation of the law. The colonial authorities really had the power of putting down the trade, which we had not. There was a natural jealousy at the interference of foreigners in such matters. As for the mixed commission, it was a mere mockery. The adjudication being by lot, the representative of each nation decided in favour of that nation, and the decisions might as well be made by lot at once. With regard to the right of search, he had never condemned the right hon. baronet for giving it up, more especially when he considered the feeling which had been excited in France on the subject; but on the scheme of a combined squadron on the coast of Africa he looked with doubt. He feared that the officers would either agree too well or too ill. For his own part, he felt with the hon. member for Gateshead, that the extension of legitimate commerce would be the best mode of putting down the slave-trade.

Sir R. PEEL.—I admit that the measures adopted by her Majesty's Government have not been successful in abolishing this traffic. I also admit that the horrors of the slave-trade continue—abated in some degree, but still to an extent which every friend to humanity must deplore. But when the proposal was made to abolish the slave-trade, it was foreseen that, whatever measure you might adopt with the view

of effecting that abolition would lead in some degree to an aggravation of the evil. Still, general considerations of humanity prevailed over objections of that nature; this country determined to set an example to the rest of the world, and abolish the slave-trade; not, however, without feeling that in some particular cases the evils of the illegal traffic might be greater than those of the permitted traffic. Upon this question, as upon others, this country was subject to hot and cold influences. Although I am aware that the avidity of slave-dealers would lead them to make the passage in the shortest possible time, and although I don't mean to deny that, owing to the vigilance of our cruisers, the horrors of the voyage are increased, yet, upon the whole, I greatly doubt whether or no the sufferings of the unfortunate slaves will be diminished if you relax in your vigilance. It is notorious, notwithstanding the suspicions of the hon. gentleman, that there are but two countries now carrying on the slave-trade to any great extent—Brazil and Cuba; and I shall not despair, if the efforts of this country be persevered in, that even as regards those two countries those efforts will be crowned with the success which they deserve. (Hear, hear.) With respect to Brazil, such is the extent of cultivable land, so great is the demand for slaves, and so great also is the disposition upon the part of the authorities to connive at the introduction of slaves, that the withdrawal of your cruisers from the coast of Africa would give a stimulus to the slave-trade which you can hardly imagine. I think the hon. gentleman has greatly exaggerated the number of slaves that are introduced into the different countries which sanction slave labour. I very much doubt if the whole number imported into Brazil and Cuba exceeds 35,000, whereas he has estimated them at 180,000. The hon. gentleman proposes to encourage the produce of our own colonies by the introduction of free labour, which he says will successfully compete with slave labour. But even supposing his anticipation upon that point to be well founded, see what a length of time must elapse before he could realize it. I admit the advantage of introducing free labour into your own colonies, but I apprehend that the two systems are not consistent, and that an attempt to make them so would give encouragement to the direct slave-trade. The hon. gentleman says it is carried on to an immense extent on the coast of Africa. I believe that impression to be erroneous, and I have here a letter from our naval officer which tends to prove it is so. The letter is dated from her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra*, off Quilimane, December 20, 1844; and the writer says:—"I think we are doing very well against the slave-trade on this side of Africa, and a twelvemonth after this it will be a rare thing to hear of a slave vessel on the coast, if the present number of vessels are employed to prevent it. There were ten agents employed at Quilimane to collect slaves for the Rio vessels, nine of which have left, and the other remains only to collect the property and wind up the affairs of the company. There are now about 2,000 slaves ready to be embarked, and vessels are expected every day for them. It is no easy thing for them to get off safely, as the Governor of Quilimane, who has just arrived, will not allow the trade to be carried on from that river, and the Governor-General is very earnest in putting an end to it by all the means in his power. He has given me authority to capture any vessels employed in the slave-trade from any river, harbour, or roadstead belonging to Portugal, and has sent a very strong letter to the Governor of Inhamban for allowing the *Kentucky* to enter the port under American colours, telling him he will make him responsible should a similar occurrence take place." On the east coast of Africa, so far as relates to South America, we have great reason to believe that the slave-trade has been suppressed through the cordial co-operation of Portugal, whose conduct within the last two years has, I must say, been most excellent. Portugal has during that time lent us a sincere and cordial co-operation. The civil authorities of Portugal had sent out a commander who had manifested the utmost desire to give us every possible assistance for the suppression of the slave-trade. A slave vessel having been captured by the *Alert* was carried before a mixed commission on the coast of Africa; but the death of one and the removal of another of our commissioners left the matter in the hands of the two Portuguese commissioners, who, acting singly, and without any stimulus from the presence of our commissioners, proceeded at once to the condemnation of the vessel. Captures have even been made by Portuguese vessels. A Portuguese garde-marine, on the 27th of May, 1844, captured the Brazilian brig *Capador*, having on board 850 slaves; the commanding officer recommended the garde-marine for promotion on account of his vigilance; the recommendation was attended to, the promotion was granted, and Lord Aberdeen expressed his satisfaction at, and acknowledgment of, the example which had thus been set. That was not the only instance. In another case another Portuguese officer distinguished himself by effecting the capture of a Spanish slave-trade vessel, and was accordingly promoted. These acts upon the part of the Portuguese Government—these promotions of officers for capturing Brazilian and Spanish slave-trade vessels have produced an effect through the Portuguese navy which leads to the hope and belief that the co-operation of Portugal is not only sincere, but that it will be most effectual. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, the whole conduct of Portugal has been such as to deserve the grateful acknowledgments of every friend to humanity. With regard to the United States, although the force they have sent to the coast of Africa is limited in amount, and does not exceed 80 guns, the experiment has not been unsuccessful, as may be seen from the following letter:—

"Sierra Leone, April 4, 1845.

"My Lord,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch, No. 2, of the 19th February, transmitting the copy of a despatch from her Majesty's Commissioner at Havanna, containing a copy of his report on the slave-trade at that place for the month of December last. Of the slave vessels mentioned by Mr. Kennedy, we have already, in our despatch, No. 25, of the 24th ult., notified to your lordship the capture and condemnation of the *Huracan*, and we have now the pleasure of communicating the capture of the *Spitfire* on the 25th ult., in the Rio Pongas, by the United States vessel of war *Truxton*, Commander Bruce, by whom the prize was brought into the harbour, and is about to be despatched to Boston for trial. The seizure of the American slaver was effected by the boats of the *Truxton*, which rowed up the Pongas in company with the boats of her Majesty's

steamer *Ardent*, Commander Russell, both parties carrying British colours, upon an understanding between the two commanders, by which means the American crew of the *Spitfire* were induced to mistake the *Truxton's* boats for those of the English cruiser, and having hoisted, in supposed security, their own ensign, were immediately seized. A Spanish vessel, which was captured by the British boats at the same time alongside the *Spitfire*, is now before this court, and will be reported to your lordship in due course.

"We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servants,

"M. L. MELVILLE.

"JAMES HOOK.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T., &c."

The same course was taken with the Spanish vessel. The Spanish slaver hoisted the Spanish colours, thinking to escape, and was seized. There was no interruption here with legitimate commerce; they were vessels with slaves, and were seized by the joint operations of America and this country. I cannot therefore help entertaining a sanguine hope that if a determined effort be made by the joint action of the United States, France, and Portugal with this country, that effort will be successful. I do not think there is any evidence whatever to justify the house in adopting this motion. The loss of life and the expenditure of money to which the motion refers are no doubt open to objection, but I think, nevertheless, that upon the whole it greatly contributes to the mitigation of the horrors of the slave-trade. Whatever the amount of the present evils may be, I believe that if, at the present moment, you withdraw your squadron from the coast of Africa, and permit the unrestricted import of slaves into Cuba, but above all, into Brazil, you will give an impetus to the slave-trade which will render future efforts to suppress it useless.

Sir C. NAPIER could not agree with the hon. member for Gateshead or with the noble lord in the propriety of abandoning the blockade on the coast of Africa.

Lord PALMERSTON rose to address the house, which, however, was counted out.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE WEATHER.—We learn from St. Mary, that the weather has been so bad in that parish as to put a stop to all attempts at sugar making. We understand that on Friday last the rains were so violent, and the rivers consequently so much swollen, that a wain with two hogsheads of sugar and eight steers, belonging to Ballard's Valley, as carried away by the river at Llanrumney, on their way to Port Maria, and totally lost. Wains laden with canes have been left in the fields, the rain being so heavy that they could not be got to the works.—*Falmouth Post*.

LABOUR COERCED BY DOUBLE RENT IN HANOVER.—The man to whom the following notice was sent, informed us that he was working upon a neighbouring estate, Copse; but for fear of the threat being carried into execution left, and came again to work at Friendship Grey. He also states that he has only a sister living in the same house, and that she pays 1s. per week, and he pays 2s. per week, and that neither of them have any "ground" on the property. Further remark is needless, the precious document which we now copy from the original will speak for itself. COPY.—"You are hereby required to pay the sum of 4s. weekly, from the 1st day of January last past, for the house and premises you have hitherto been permitted by me to occupy on Friendship Estate, in failing to do which, you will be dealt with according to law; having refused to labour on the above-mentioned property. Signed, DIANA ABRAHAM. 7th January, 1845. To John Winter, Labourer, Friendship Estate."—*Baptist Herald*.

DOMINICA.—The weather is unusually fine, in fact, the atmosphere is rather more sultry than otherwise; but it is just the thing for the sugar makers, who are just now on the *qui vive*, taking advantage of the adage, to "make hay while the sun shines." There is every hope of a good crop this year.—*Dominican*.

GRENADA.—Some improvement has taken place in the weather during the last few days. The change of the moon has brought with it some slight showers, and present appearances indicate a further supply of rain. The country is literally parched up, and stands much in need of some heavy showers. In Carriacou the drought has been distressingly severe, and the stock and vegetation have suffered seriously in consequence.—*Grenada Gazette*.

BARBADOS.—The prospect for the future is miserable. We have not had what may be termed a rain since the fire in February; and as to planting, that is out of the question. There is no kind of provision planted as yet; and the young cane crop, I may say, is lost.—*Correspondent of the Guiana Gazette*.

TRINIDAD: THE WEATHER.—We have had, during the past month, a continuance of fine weather, which has had its favourable influence on agricultural pursuits throughout the island. Considerable progress has been made towards the completion of crop. In the last few days we have had some heavy showers of rain, which may be viewed as indicative of the setting in of the wet season. This will occasion very little, if any inconvenience, to the planters, as most of them have either finished, or nearly finished, crop.—*Trinidad Standard*.

THE CROP.—The quantity of sugar shipped is as follows:—14,190 hogsheads, 1,105 tierces, and 2,527 barrels. At the same period last year it was 14,249 hogsheads, 901 tierces, and 2,588 barrels, showing but a slight difference. It is supposed that the shipment this season will hardly exceed 22,000 hogsheads, which is much less than was ex-

pected. We stated in our last, that this disappointment is attributable to the bad yielding of the canes more than to any other cause.—*Ibid*.

ARRIVAL OF COOLIES.—The *Fatel Rozack* arrived on Friday evening, with 214 Coolies on board. She was ninety-six days from Calcutta, and forty-one days from the Cape of Good Hope. With the exception of five deaths, which occurred on the passage, the voyage has been a favourable one. The deaths which have occurred, it is stated, were persons who were not in good health at the time of their embarkation.—*Trinidad Standard*.

ARRIVAL OF CAPTURED AFRICANS.—The transport ship *Senator*, arrived here to-day with 241 labourers and five returned delegates, all in good health. These people, or by far the greater portion of them, formed the cargo of a slaver, brought into Sierra Leone during the *Senator's* stay in that port, after the smallpox which had broken out amongst them had subsided, transferred to the *Senator*, to be brought out to this colony. There are also a few return delegates; but as to further immigration from Sierra Leone of people settled there, or even Kroomen, we understand it is out of the question. It only remains to be decided on what is to be done with the *Senator*. As an instance of the execrable ruthlessness of the slavers, we may mention that, amongst the captives thus fortunately wrenched from their clutches, are two little children not four years of age.—*Port of Spain Gazette*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—ARRIVAL OF AFRICANS.—The *Roger Stewart* arrived at Berbice on the 20th of May, with 256 immigrants from Sierra Leone, in twenty-four days.—*Royal Gazette*.

Two vessels, it is currently reported, have been chartered for immigrant transports, the *Louisa Baillie* for Berbice, and the *Beatrice* for the counties of Demerara and Essequibo, and will proceed shortly to Sierra Leone.—*Guiana Times*.

Miscellanea.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.—The *Moniteur* contains the returns of the slaves liberated in the French colonies from 1830 to 1844. It results from that document that their number, in Martinique, was 23,505; in Guadeloupe, 13,300; in French Guiana, 1,989; and in Bourbon, 4,948—in all, 43,742.

SLAVE-TRADE.—Her Majesty's ship, *Ferret*, Captain Oakes, captured, on the 28th Sept. last a schooner, with 400 slaves on board, six days out. She was without colours, papers, or chart, having, it is supposed, all been thrown overboard. No person would acknowledge to be the captain, who, the crew said, was dead; or even give her a name, or say to whom she belonged, or where bound. It is believed her name is *Aventura*, of 140 tons, belonging to Rio de Janeiro.—*Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—We are informed by an officer on board the *Porpoise*, that the famous slave brig *Balladero* was captured by Her Britannic Majesty's brig *Albatross*, on the 10th of August, in the neighbourhood of the Galinas. She has made twenty-two or twenty-three successful voyages, and has during the time been captured three times, each time condemned and sold, and every time bought by the slavers. She was built at Baltimore, and sent from that port to the colony of Liberia with emigrants, and sailed for Havana with a cargo of slaves. Her sailing qualities were so remarkably good that nothing on the coast in the shape of sailing vessels could overtake her, and she was so highly prized by her owners, that every voyage she made she was newly coppered and rigged. On her return from a very successful voyage she was rebuilt, and most of her upper works were made of mahogany. Consequently her capture has caused more excitement on the coast than the capture of any other vessel for years past.—*American Paper*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the said county of Middlesex, printer, at their printing-office, No. 5, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the city of London; and published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Wednesday, July 9, 1845.